

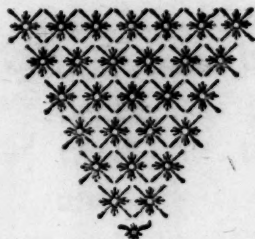
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L E T T E R

T O A
N O B L E L O R D :

Wherein it is demonstrated,

That all the great and mighty Difficulties
in obtaining an honourable and lasting
PEACE, and reconciling all the jarring
and different Interests, are for the most
Part chimerical and imaginary; pro-
vided only, it be entrusted to the Care
and Management of honest Hearts and
able Heads.

By an ENGLISHMAN.



L O N D O N :

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A

LETTER

TO A

Noble LORD, &c.

My LORD,



COMMON report informs us, that all the belligerent powers begin to grow sufficiently tired with this long, bloody, and most expensive war—and really it is high time; for one may reasonably suppose the effusion of so much human blood, the devastation, ravage, and desolation, that has overspread so many countries, by this time is become highly offensive to God, as well as

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a most greivous and melancholy consideration to all honest and sensible men.

We are likewise informed that your lordship is the person fixed on to negotiate this peace, and that you are shortly to repair to the place of destination for that purpose --a great and important trust indeed.--The eyes of all Europe will be upon you—your conduct will be examined with the utmost nicety.—I have a high opinion of your lordship's abilities and integrity, and doubt not but you'll acquit yourself with honour and reputation, and be of great utility to your native country, and thereby acquire that immortal renown, that always attends those who worthily discharge a public trust.—I doubt not but many difficulties and perplexities will arise in your own mind, how, and in what manner, you shall accomplish this grand and arduous task, and be able to reconcile so many jarring and contending interests—but, my lord, the difficulties are not so great as may appear at first sight—When you come to give it a calm and attentive consideration, the mighty difficulties will vanish and disappear at once; especially if you consider yourself to be the grand and most important spoke, in all this wheel, as you really are—I had some thoughts of giving you my advice;
you

you may pay what regard to it you please—You may receive it with censure or applause—my intentions are good—but, on second thoughts, I find it is natural for men always to receive advice with some degree of reluctance—I perceive in my own mind, if a man attempts to advise me, I am apt to look upon it as an affront to my understanding, and that he is treating me as a child—True it is—the man who pretends to advise me—does in that particular exercise a superiority over me, and he can have no reason for it, but that, in comparing me with himself, he thinks me defective either in point of conduct or understanding—For this reason, my lord, fearing you'll take my advice in a disagreeable light, I have laid aside all thoughts of it, and will only give you a plain recital how, and in what manner, I would act, were I in your place, and this my conduct you are at full liberty to censure or applaud, just as you please.

Being got to the place of destination, I would notify my arrival to the French ambassador, desiring him to fix a time to wait on me ; or, if that was not agreeable, I would wait on him alone, to have a little conference with him, at what time or place he may judge proper to appoint—Being thus met, I would tell him,

that I was very sensible it was usual at all congresses to spend a good deal of time in settling and adjusting a great number of little ceremonies and punctilio's whereby many disputes and difficulties would frequently arise and produce great delay, and unnecessary expence of money and time; but that, if he thought proper, we would dispense with all this parade and nonsense, and enter at once on the matter in hand, from an opinion the sooner this bloody and destructive war was ended, the better and more agreeable it would be to all the contending parties; and here I would tell him that I was invested with very ample and extensive powers, and that I would reduce what I took to be the purport of them into a short and concise compass, laying it fairly before him; and then submit it to his calm and deliberate attention, and would only desire to be heard with patience and without interruption.

In the first place, I would acquaint him, that, in all former treaties between England and France, we had been accustomed to treat on a foot of equality—but, in this present treaty, the matter was really and essentially different—we now treat with France under the notion and character of a vanquished foe.—

After

After Kouli Khann had overthrown and entirely defeated the last Turkish army, of about one hundred thousand men, and slain their brave and valiant commander, Topal Osman, the whole Turkish empire was in the utmost danger ; the Grand Segnior and all his court were in the utmost confusion, and at their wits end ; they immediately dispatched Ambassadors to Kouli Khann, to solicit a peace on any terms.

Kouli Khaun received the ambassadors with that insolence and haughtiness peculiar to the Eastern monarchs, and, after having made them wait some hours in an outer tent, he at last vouchsafed them an audience, and told them he knew the business they were come upon, and that he had no objection to a peace, on condition they granted him two preliminary articles—The first was, That they submit to such terms and conditions as he should please to prescribe ; and, secondly, That they should acknowledge his lenity and moderation, in not overthrowing the Turkish empire, for that Topal Osman was now no more *.

You

* This Topal Osman was a chief minister of state at Constantinople, and had the principal management and direction of that vast empire for a long

You will doubtless reply, that Kouli Khann was a cruel and bloody tyrant—I will readily grant it—but you will find in the sequel, that it is the peculiar felicity of the French nation at this juncture, that my royal master, notwithstanding he has met with such vast and great success, will expect nor impose no terms or conditions on France, but such as are perfectly consistent with that invariable rule of common justice and equity which ought always to subsist between nation and nation—on this his most Christian majesty may safely depend and rely—and if this present difficulty between us be concluded, as I hope in God it will, your master may depend

long time ; he exercised his power with a degree of lenity and moderation before unknown in that part of the world---He was beloved, esteemed, and revered throughout the whole empire ; as a private man, he was allowed to be of the most exemplary virtue and substantial goodness ; he was also a great soldier, commanded armies, and fought battles. Kouli Khann well knew of what vast importance this single man was to the Turkish government---I think it may be said, that few great men, either in the Christian, Pagan, or Mahometan world, have left it with a more exalted and finished character---It is the same in all kingdoms and states whatever ; when a truly good, virtuous, and sensible man happens to be entrusted with a large share of power, the advantages the community may expect from it, are very great and even unspeakable.

pend on having a sincere friend and ally in my royal master, who will make it the study of his life, and recommend it strongly to his successor, always to cultivate a hearty friendship with France——which will be found abundantly more conducive to the real happiness and prosperity of both nations, than by expending the blood and treasure of their honest, inoffensive subjects, by wholesale——which has many times been the case.

And here, Sir, before I enter upon this present treaty, I must mention to you the treaty made at Utrecht in the latter end of queen Anne's reign—it appears agreeable to the letter, to the spirit, and to the real intent and meaning of that treaty——That the port of Dunkirk was to be demolished and entirely destroyed—that is to say, the citadel, the harbour, and all the ramparts and fortifications——Now this article of that treaty has never yet been fulfilled, even to this day——I will grant a shew of doing it was made—but it was done in a juggling and evasive manner, and not at all agreeable to the intent and design of the treaty—Your court very well knew the condition of the then English ministry, and that they were in a state of great weakness and imbecillity, not capable to enforce the fulfilment of this article—

cle—of this they took the advantage—
 The breach of this article gave great disgust to the honest part of the nation—
 We had at that time one Sir Richard Steele, an honest sensible man, who wrote a great many papers on this subject, and, instead of being protected and encouraged for it,—was actually expelled the house of commons—a disgrace and indignity the most infamous that can befall an English gentleman—I do not know if your father le Chaise was then living, (and I have not time to examine the history of those days at present) I mean he that was so long confessor to your late king—who, tho' by profession a divine, yet was a good politician, and for a long tract of time had a large share in the political management of all your foreign and domestic concerns—This man was eternally buzzing in the ears of your king, and likewise of his famous Madam de Maintenon, that they should one time or other most certainly subdue the English nation, and demolish their government; and that the only way to effect this grand design was to let the English entirely alone to themselves; and that by all accounts he could get from England (and he was accustomed to have many spies to give him constant intelligence of what passed) the hatred and animosity

animosity between the two contending parties of Whigs and Tories was grown to a settled and fixed antipathy, that must end shortly in a civil war;—and then, by a little prudent and seasonable interposition on one side or other the British government, may be demolished and over-set with great ease and facility, and reduced to a state of dependence and subjection to France.——This appears to have been his settled opinion during the greatest part of his life; and, to speak the truth, there was a real foundation for it—for, though he happened to be mistaken in this single point, yet, nevertheless, he was a man of great experience and sagacity.——But now I would observe to you, that the state and condition of England is quite and entirely changed and altered:---Those monstrous and pestiferous animals of Whigs and Tories are now eradicated and totally annihilated.—In father La Chaise's time, he well knew the bulk of the people in this nation were led by the nose, and made dupes and asses by their civil and ecclesiastical leaders—But now these two parties have had a fair and open eclaircissement, and find there is not, nor never was, half that difference between them as they were made to believe.——They

are now arrived to a sufficiency of understanding to see for themselves—to reason for themselves, and have a capacity to distinguish between their real friends and foes.

His Britannic majesty, whom I have the honour to represent, is no longer a king of Whigs, nor a king of Tories, but really and in fact a king of England, and has the hearts, the affection, and purses of his people at his command : And this entire confidence is founded on a general opinion, that all his aims and designs tend only to promote their real happiness and welfare.—Besides, he has an honest head-servant, one William Pitt, who, though a chief minister of state, is allowed by the whole nation to be a down-right honest man—he also is not a minister of Whigs and Tories, but, in a manner somewhat peculiar, is a minister to all the people of England*,
from

* Union and harmony are at all times necessary to the preservation of all states and kingdoms, but in a more special manner when they are engaged in war with powerful enemies ;--- for on this union depends not only the continuation of the war, but the event of it likewise ; and when once a divided state or kingdom comes to be united---the people will naturally recover their

from an opinion he is an honest man both in public and private life.—I could mention to you some ministers of state, both in England and France, that have maintained a very high degree of power in their respective kingdoms, for a long succession of years, and have constantly supported and upheld themselves in it by the most open and barefaced bribery, venality, and universal corruption ; their whole lives have been nothing else but a continued series of little cunning, mean artifices, and temporary expedients :— But, Sir, this William Pitt is an entire stranger to all those kind of practices—he now possesses a large share of power ; but how does he support himself in it ?— Only by the rectitude of his conduct and the honesty of his intentions ; and, what-

their spirits, and act with vigour :-----This is confirmed by all history, as well as by late experience.-----However, it is impolitic in any state or kingdom to be so elated with success as to be deaf to all reasonable overtures of peace from their enemies,---especially in such kingdoms as subsist by trade and commerce alone,---as is, and ever will be the case both in England and France.----- Therefore it will eternally remain infinitely more advantageous for both nations to live in peace and friendship,----than to weaken and enervate their respective kingdoms by long and destructive wars.

ever plans or schemes he may form, the whole nation assists him with their money, with a greater degree of willingness and cheerfulness than has ever been done to any former minister ; and, whether his schemes turn out successful or not, they are all satisfied, from a prevailing opinion that the whole of their money is expended for their own use and benefit.

My only reason, for mentioning those particulars, is only to convince you, that the state and condition of England is quite altered and changed from what it was at the time of the Utrecht treaty.—No sham-work—no juggling or evasive transactions can or will now be passed on the English nation—every thing now agreed on must be fairly done and performed, consistent with the strictest justice and equity, by all the contracting powers.—The article of the demolition of Dunkirk has never yet been performed—it is now insisted on as a preliminary article to the present peace—That it be demolished according to the letter, the spirit, the true intent and meaning of that treaty—that is to say, the citadel—the harbour—all the ramparts and fortifications totally—finally and completely be destroyed and entirely to be demolished ; and, to prevent any further disputes or
remaining

remaining altercations about it, I must add one new clause, *viz.* That this demolition be begun in thirty days after the ratification of this treaty, and such a number of hands be employed in it as will finish and complete it in three months from the time it is so begun; and also, that his Britannic majesty be permitted to send two engineers to be satisfied the demolition is quite perfect and complete, agreeable to the Utrecht treaty.—The situation and vicinity of this place to the entrance of the port of London renders it of great consequence to the British nation; and, unless this preliminary article be granted in the manner here described, the present congress at once ceases to exist, —I can go no farther.

But I have so good an opinion of the honour, equity, and justice of his most Christian majesty, that I dare say he will cheerfully grant it, as he must see he stands bound to fulfil it by all the laws of heaven and earth:—On this supposition I beg leave to proceed to the present war.

I told you at first setting out, That there is a real and essential difference in our carrying on this treaty from that of any former; and there is another point in which it ought to differ from many preceding ones.—In some former treaties
between

between England and France, they have been conducted in a loose and cursory manner; points have not been sufficiently cleared up—things have been skimmed over in a superficial, hurry-scurry method—but in the present treaty every thing shall be made plain and clear, and quite intelligible to all the contracting parties—as on our side it is intended this peace shall be permanent and durable, and continue and remain so for a couple of centuries at least—which would be much more conducive to the happiness and benefit of both nations, than every three or four years to be wasting the blood and treasure of their honest inoffensive subjects by wholesale.

But to descend to particulars; the fate of war is very precarious and uncertain, as it will depend on a variety of unforeseen accidents and casualties.—By this fate and determination of war that valuable and very important island of Minorca, in the Mediterranean sea, is fallen into your hands:—This we give up—and do hereby renounce all claim, right, and title to it henceforward and for evermore, and do consent you shall annex it to the crown of France how, and in what manner, you please—and we do hereby engage for ourselves and successors, that it shall be
adjudged

adjudged and deemed to belong and appertain to the crown of France, in the same manner as if it was actually joined to the main-land or continent of France.

Now, Sir, by a parity of reason, we expect to hold and remain for ever in possession of the whole and every part of those acquisitions the fate and determination of war has thrown into our hands—that is to say, that small island of Guadaloupe, together with those other conquests and settlements we have made on the coast of Africa, and all the different parts of America, with the fundry countries, rivers, and lakes that have ever been deemed to belong or any wise to appertain thereunto, to be assigned over to us in the same form and manner as we have conveyed the island of Minorca to you—that is to say, they are to be henceforward adjudged, deemed, allowed to belong and appertain to the crown of England for evermore.

And moreover, provided it should appear we have made, or hereafter make, any conquest from the French in the East-Indies, or in any other part of the world, that also shall be deemed, in like manner, to belong to, and ever held by the crown of England ; provided only all such conquests be so made before the signing,

signing, sealing, and ratification of this treaty by the French and English monarchs; and, should any conquest be made after this peace is so ratified and confirmed, then, and in that case, it shall be instantly restored and returned back to its former possessors: This clause to be mutually binding and obligatory to both the contracting parties, to prevent after difficulty and disputes.

To these conditions you can raise no possible objection, as they are perfectly consistent with all the laws of honour, equity, and mutual justice.—Those conquests have been obtained at an amazing expence of blood and treasure of the English nation—the expence in money has been so great as even to exceed almost all conception or imagination: Former ages would never have believed this little island could have supported under it—and future ages will stare at it with wonder and surprize.

I now come to offer two short reasons why, in the nature of things, it becomes absolutely impossible for us to restore any part of those new acquisitions we have already made.—First, Take and hold is become the general and united cry and voice of all the people in England—they have parted with their money in greater
sums,

fums, and with a degree of chearfulness hitherto unknown ; all the fatisfaction they expect, and all the return they desire, is an extenſion of their trade, and enlargement of their commerce by thoſe new acquiſitions.—And on this they rely and depend from the known honour, equity, and gratitude of their government.

Secondly, I apprehend the whole, or the greateſt part of that country called and known by the name of Canada—is now in our poſſeſſion : You will reply, We muſt give up Canada and keep all the reſt.—This alſo is impoſſible quite—for the giving up Canada would, in effect, be giving up all the reſt :—For the vicinity of Canada to the other places would, on any new rupture with France, enable them at once to conquer and recover all the other ſettlements.—Should you ſay we muſt defend them by forts, garrifons, and guards.—Conſider, Sir, it is at a vaſt diſtance from its mother country, and how remote it lies from the ſea-ſide ; the expence of erecting forts, and keeping guards and garrifons at ſo great a diſtance from England would ſoon appear to be inſupportable :—Beſides, it would be only a chimerical and imaginary ſecurity—if Canada was reſtored to the

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French—whereas, by keeping Canada, all is rendered safe and secure at once.

There is even yet another point of great importance, the honour and dignity of our nation must be regarded.—Were we to give up any part of our new acquisitions, all Europe would laugh at us, and tell us we have been expending the blood and treasure of our brave people for nothing.—Thus, Sir, I persuade myself you stand convinced of the impossibility we are really under of restoring back any part of our acquisitions to France.

Probably you will reply, It would be right to fix and ascertain the respective limits and boundaries of those new acquisitions, both in Africa and America, to prevent after disputes and altercations.—What we mean by keeping those respective acquisitions is not the bare simple land on which those towns, cities, and forts stand which we have taken, but all the countries, rivers, and lakes that have hitherto been deemed to belong, or in any wise to appertain thereunto; had we some good maps, we could do it directly—but this point, I think, would be best to be left to commissaries to be chosen by each side, as they may be supposed to have a better knowledge of the situation and extent of those countries, and the particular

cular rivers and lakes, than either of us can pretend to :—We may fix the place, and ascertain the time of their meeting, and mutually agree that those commissaries shall finish and conclude all in thirty or forty days after they be so met, and not delay it for two, or three, or four years, as has been formerly the case, and put their respective nations to a great and unnecessary expence.

I now come to another topic of a very different nature, and is chiefly intended to cement that lasting friendship we now propose for ever to establish between the two nations.

Our superiority at sea has been, during this war, asserted and maintained in a manner more conspicuous and apparent than in any former period of time :—Therefore, for the future, when any of his most Christian majesty's ships of war shall meet or pass by any of his Britannic majesty's ships of war—the French ships shall always strike their flag, and pay them the ancient and usual compliment, as an acknowledgment of their superiority on that element—and, in case of refusal, the English shall be permitted to fire on them, and oblige them to it by force—and that such a conduct shall be

deemed as no breach of the peace, nor as any act of hostility.

Finally, in most former treaties the English, through an excess of complaisance, have consented they should be drawn in the French language:—Now the tables ought to be turned—and with the utmost reason and justice we insist to have it in English.

I have now, Sir, quite finished and concluded what I have to say relating to all the disputes between England and France, which are the chief points that concern you and me—and I hope all I have so far advanced, must appear to you to be perfectly equitable, candid, and just.—I am only aware of but one objection you can possibly raise:—Probably you will say, That, prior to any declaration of war, his Britannic majesty's ships took a great number of French ships, carried them into port, and made lawful prizes of them, to the very great loss and prejudice of his subjects; and, this being done antecedent to any declaration of war, all those captures were illegal, and, consequently, you expect ample and full satisfaction for them.

To this I reply, That this point has already engaged the attention of the most considerable lawyers and best civilians in
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all Europe, and they all agree, that, according to the ancient laws of reprisal observed and settled amongst all civilized nations, the legality of those captures is plain, clear, and indubitable :—The French, without any provocation, continued for a long time to make many and repeated incroachments upon our lands and settlements in America, in a most violent and hostile manner, and in a time of the most profound peace.—The lands on which those incroachments were then made, were not of a doubtful or disputable tenure ; but on lands and settlements that for time immemorial had been, by all the world, deemed and adjudged to belong to the English.—It was impossible for his Britannic majesty (ever attentive to the safety and security of the lives and properties of his subjects) to remain an idle spectator.—How does he act ?—He makes many and repeated applications to the court of France, but not the least redress or relief could be obtained ; and, finding no satisfaction could be had in a friendly amicable manner, he at last ordered reprisals to be made at sea, it being not in his power so well to effect it on the continent of America.—Accordingly many ships were taken and brought into our ports :—But this was not done
with

with a design to kindle the flames of another war, but only to prevent it—in hopes that by this procedure his most Christian majesty would be induced to make satisfaction for the great and real injuries done to his subjects in America ; upon which satisfaction all the reprizals taken would have been instantly again restored—and for that purpose the ships and cargoes were secured, the hatches locked down and properly guarded, to prevent any kind of embezzlement ; and in this condition they remained many of them six, nine, and twelve months—but at last, finding the French court averse to all amicable accommodations, and war being openly declared on both sides—those ships and cargoes were condemned as legal prizes.—But, on examining the respective cargoes, the far greater part appeared to consist of fish caught by the French at or near our settlements in Newfoundland ; which commodity being of a perishable nature, their cargoes were quite rotten, and we were at the expence of unloading this fish, and carrying it out at sea at a considerable distance, and there throw it overboard—It was so perished and rotten we were afraid to bury it on the sea-shore, fearing it might have brought some evil malady or distemper on
our

our people, it was in such a stinking condition ; this was the case of sixty or seventy cargoes at least—and thereby the advantage arising to England was reduced to a trifling and inconsiderable sum.

As a private man, I have had large transactions with your lawyers at Bordeaux—St. Malo's, and Havre de Grace, and very well know you have many lawyers and civilians in France.—Men that are of great eminence and learning in their respective professions, men that are well acquainted with the civil law, and all those municipal laws that subsist between nation and nation ; and, if you consult some of those gentlemen that are the most eminent in their profession at Paris, Bordeaux, and Marseilles, you will find they will unite and agree that those captures, though made antecedent to any declaration of war, are perfectly equitable and legal, agreeable to all the laws of reprisal that have hitherto subsisted, from time immemorial, amongst all civilized nations, and consequently no demand can be legally made—nor no satisfaction ever will be granted on this account.

I have been the longer on this head, being extremely desirous to convince the court of France, and all the powers of Europe, that all the resolves and determinations

nations of his Britannic majesty are fixed on the eternal principles of mutual justice and equity—perfectly agreeable to the reason and nature of things, and the municipal laws of all nations.

I must confess, when I first heard of those captures, I was a good deal disturbed in my own mind about the legality of of them; but on consulting Grotius, who, I think, may be stiled the father of all the civilians in Europe, I soon became quite and entirely satisfied on that head.

Thus, Sir, I have finally ended and concluded every thing that relates to the present disputes between us and France.

I now come to consider the state and condition of our allies, in which I shall be very brief, this being a secondary consideration.

The brave and magnaminious king of Prussia is our sole and only ally:—And if I understand my instructions aright—he is to be made quite easy and content, and, unless this is done, nothing can be concluded on between us—everything must stop and remain in the condition it now is:—And here please to take notice—that how—or in what manner he is to be made easy, does not at all fall under our consideration—that is his business:—He has two notable women to contend with—
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the empress of Russia and the queen of Hungary.—Let them battle it out here between their own respective ambassadors, in the best manner they can—the only prudent and politic part for us—will be, that, as those two ladies are your allies, you will endeavour constantly to exert your utmost influence and power with their ambassadors to make such concessions, and to give such future security as his Prussian majesty may claim, and by every possible method to inspire their minds with the highest sentiments of peace, amity, and friendship, thereby to prevent the effusion of any more Christian blood—which must be highly offensive to God, and bring infinite scandal on the Christian religion.—And, in my turn I promise you, with the utmost solemnity, that I will continually exert my utmost power and influence, and make use of all the methods of reason and persuasion I am capable of, to induce the ambassador of his Prussian majesty not to be too rigorous in his claims or demands, but let all be regulated agreeable to the laws of that honour, equity, and justice, that ought to subsist amongst princes; and if reasonable terms can be obtained, and tolerable security for his master's future safety, to accept it at once.—By such a mutual and

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friendly

friendly procedure on our parts, I dare say this grand and mighty difference may be soon accommodated.

Probably, some of the lesser princes and states of Germany may apply to us for satisfaction, representing they have suffered on both sides:—Their countries have been laid waste—filled with ravage and desolation—their subjects unmercifully plundered and impoverished by heavy and cruel contributions, and thereby reduced to a state of poverty, beggary, and distress.—Their case, I will grant, is deplorably sad indeed, and we should attend to their complaints with great lenity and moderation—but *inter nos*—this is a point that does not fall under our consideration:—If the Germans will be such fools as to enter into civil wars, and cut one another's throats—they must abide by the consequences; let us refer them to their own Diet at Ratisbon.—For observe, if we once accommodate the affair between his Prussian majesty and the two queens—all the other little bickerings and differences must end and subside at once.

I have only one point more to advance: If this peace is effected, it must be guaranteed by the empress of Russia, the queen of Hungary, and his Prussian majesty

jeſty—this muſt be inſiſted on, as it is the uſual practice.—But I would not have you imagine we depend on any great ſecurity on this guaranty—no, Sir—we rely on our own real ſtrength for our ſafety and ſecurity only.—There is a real and inherent ſtrength in the Britiſh nation, when honeſtly exerted, as it now is—ſufficient to enforce the obſervation of any treaty with any power.—I only mention this guaranty, in conformity to the common practice of Europe.

Late experience has taught all Europe, that guaranties of moſt princes are but nominal and not real things.

The pragmatic ſanction was drawn in a very ſolemn manner, and in language the moſt forcible and ſignificant, ratified and confirmed, with great deliberation, by almoſt all the different powers of Europe.

On the 20th of October, 1740, the emperor Charles the Sixth died: The breath was no ſooner out of his body, but the greateſt part of thoſe princes, notwithſtanding they had ſo lately and ſolemnly ſigned and ratified this inſtrument, publicly declared to all the world they would tear it in pieces, and, by violence and blood-ſhed, ravage and deſolation, endeavoured to effect it to the utmoſt of their power, and would have ſucceeded—

if the imperial diadem had not been fixed and settled on the present empress, by the meer force alone of British money.

On the first of June, 1742—at the treaty of Breslau, his Britannic majesty guarantied the provinces of Upper and Lower Silesia to his Prussian majesty—and at the general treaty in 1748, at Aix la Chapelle, it was again guarantied to him by all the belligerent powers, with great solemnity; yet you see it has been most infamously broken, and not at all regarded.—It is a pleasure for an Englishman to reflect, that his Prince has observed both these guaranties, it being his invariable maxim and rule of conduct to adhere to the eternal laws of truth and justice; and this, Sir, will be always found to be best—the wisest and most solid system of policy.—I am very sensible the French nation has produced many men of great and eminent abilities:—But, of all your politicians, your famous archbishop of Cambray was most certainly the best and wisest—he writes a good deal relating to the conduct of kings and princes, and roundly asserts, that the truest and best system of policy is a constant adherence to all the immutable laws of truth and downright honesty, as that, by such a conduct, a prince never fails of acquiring the love and confidence of his
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own subjects, and also of appearing in a more respectable light and character to all the neighbouring princes and states around him :——But that when princes, for the sake of a little temporary advantage, will violate the most solemn treaties and engagements—it always arises from ignorance and a want of understanding in the true political art of government ; and, in the long-run, this foolish and tricking system will prove false and fallacious, and end in shame and confusion.——Yea, he goes much farther, and says, a period of time will come, when kings and princes will find themselves on a level and perfect foot of equality with the rest of mankind, and that they were under the same obligations to regard the laws of morality.—But this, you will probably reply, is a consideration too remote for princes.——However, we will expect better things, and hope a time is now come, when all princes will resolve to adhere to all moral obligations as well as private men.

I have now completely ended.—I do not know the extent of the power and authority you may be invested with ; but if they do not reach so far as to permit you to comply with those terms—to-morrow I will reduce it to writing, and endeavour to put it in language more correct

rect and significant, and you may transmit it immediately to your court.—I hope God, who has the hearts of all men in his hand, will incline his most Christian majesty to accept it—and I will transmit a copy of it to England, where I am almost confident it will be accepted.—But you must permit me to be open and free:—I cannot deviate a hair's-breadth from the terms and conditions here prescribed and ascertained—I can submit to no restrictions, limitations, or alterations—no additions or diminutions; every thing must stand as here prescribed, according to its true sense and meaning; and in ten or fourteen days at farthest I shall expect his most Christian majesty's final determination thereon:—And, if not absolutely and strictly complied with, I must return home directly, and this congress becomes at once concluded, and ceases to exist a moment longer.

What I have hitherto advanced is in a public character.—And here you must permit me, Sir, to expostulate a little with you as a private man; and I now address myself to you as a private man likewise.—Suppose those terms are not absolutely accepted,—the flames and devastations of war will be renewed with double vigour from all quarters:—And, as
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I love openness and freedom, I will tell you plainly in what manner I apprehend it will be conducted on the part of England.—Our navy is now become much more powerful and considerable than it has ever yet been, and under a better and more judicious regulation :—A spirit of valour and real courage in our sailors and soldiers is now become more apparent and conspicuous than in any former period of time.—We propose to block up all your sea-ports—those in the Mediterranean, and all those from Dunkirk to Bayonne in the bottom of the bay of Biscay, and not to suffer one ship to budge in or out.—Your ports in the Mediterranean are few in number, and lie very contiguous—a small force will be sufficient to shut up all those ports entirely, whereby the eastern parts of France will, in a short time, be reduced to the utmost poverty, beggary, and distress.—From Dunkirk to Bayonne is a long tract indeed ; but we have ships enough to lock up all those ports—and not suffer a vessel to go in or out :—By this means we shall, with more ease and expedition, weaken, enervate, and demolish the French government than by any other means whatever.—In France you have no mines of silver or gold ; not the least

least accession of wealth but what is acquired by your foreign trade—and when all the resources arising from your vast commerce are at once cut off, and your ports shut up, your government can exist but a very little while :—By this method we shall weaken and distress your nation infinitely more than by killing of forty or fifty thousand of your men every year.—We all know you have now from eighteen to twenty millions of people, and consequently the killing forty or fifty thousand men a year does not merit your notice or regard in a political sense ; but, by the method I now mention, we shall so weaken and enervate your nation as to make the foundation of your government shake, if not to demolish it, and throw every thing into a state of anarchy and confusion.

All governments, all human constitutions, have a tendency in their own nature to a state of mutability and change. —According to all human appearance, the government of England was never on so firm and stable a foundation as at this period.—We had never any prince that enjoyed the united love and affection of his people as the present does—never any royal family to whom the people of England was so zealous and heartily attached

attached to as the present :—Yet, notwithstanding this, if the port of London, and all the out ports of the kingdom were to be effectually shut up, so as no ship could go in or out for the space of eighteen months, our government would be dissolved and demolished, and tore to pieces ; every thing must fall into a state of the utmost anarchy and confusion :—In such a situation no standing army, nor riot-acts, would avail any thing.—Probably you will be surprized and startled at this.—I must confess it requires much time—a close attention—long calculation—and a clear knowledge of the internal state and condition of the nation, and the trade thereof—and then it would appear to be a necessary and unavoidable consequence, with a degree of certainty, as striking and convincing as any proposition in Euclid :—But thanks be to the eternal God that all the united powers upon earth could not effect such an event.—Now in France the case is the same, or rather worse, as the number of your inhabitants is much greater than ours :—You likewise have no mines of silver or gold—we can shut up all your ports, and thereby at once cut off all the resources you have from your great commerce.—And here, Sir, let me tell you, could you drag your

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famous and justly celebrated Colbert out of his grave ; yea, had you now half a dozen Colberts, with all their fine study and most elaborate schemes, they would not be able to prevent your government from being subverted and demolished in, a reasonable time, after such an event.—This would distress your government fifty times more than the killing of a hundred thousand men every year in Germany could possibly do ; for which, indubitable reasons may be assigned.

We stand indebted to France for another great man, I mean the present Voltaire—who has studied the different political schemes of policy that prevail over all Europe, with great attention.—He often speaks of the maritime powers exclusive of all others ; by which I suppose he means the English, French, Spaniards, and Dutch, and he frequently says, whichever of those powers can maintain a constant and settled superiority at sea, must unavoidably, in the natural course and result of things, maintain also a superiority on land :—And for this opinion he offers clear, plain, and indubitable reasons, not liable to be disputed or controverted.

I am an Englishman born, Sir, and have a hearty attachment to my native country—notwithstanding which, I have
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ever had a great partiality and friendship for the French nation :—I know them to be a polite and humane people, inclined to trade, commerce, and great industry—Your merchants are extremely numerous, and a very worthy and reputable body of men they are.—These men and their families, antecedent to the last war, were always accustomed to live in great plenty, opulence, and wealth ; but now the tables are turned, and they are left to contend with great distress, poverty, and want.—I hope for their sakes your court will instantly put an end to this bloody and destructive war.—In all kingdoms and nations upon earth, no set of men deserves so much the royal clemency and protection as the merchants do :—It is by their means alone every accession of wealth is to be acquired to the state.—The inland trade is only a rotation of property from one man to another : The nation gets no addition of power or wealth by it.—Were it not for fear of appearing too tedious, I would solicit greatly in behalf of your merchants, with all the force and power of language I am capable of.—It is really consistent with the highest degree of national prudence and policy to put an end to this war, were it for their sakes alone, (they being of such utility to the public)

and to extricate them out of their present ruinous condition.

For God's sake, Sir, stand still a moment, take a short survey of the French nation, compare its present condition with what it was but one year antecedent to the last war.—Your merchants and traders then lived like petty princes:—Your commerce, both foreign and domestic, was by far more considerable and extensive than that of the English, or any other nation upon earth.—How are things changed!—an amazing revolution indeed!—Was you now to travel through all the great cities and towns in France, especially the sea-ports, nothing would be seen but the utmost poverty and distress, and the most apparent marks of a dissolving government.—Reflect, Sir, on those seas of blood, and that immensity of treasure you have expended, from time to time, in Germany; all which is merely fighting with a phantom, as no addition of power or accession of territory there, would be of any real benefit or advantage to your kingdom.

The necessity of an immediate peace is on your side—not on ours—all Europe sees: We have a settled and fixed superiority at sea.—Our commerce is in flourishing circumstances—daily extending—and better protected.

protected and secured by our navy than in any former war.—Besides, if the terms now proposed are not accepted, it will be natural for the English to increase in their demands, as long as the war continues.

It is certainly the highest wisdom and the wisest system of policy, in his most Christian majesty, to cultivate the utmost friendship with his Britannic majesty, especially as in him he may place the utmost trust and confidence, being certain never to experience any usage or treatment from him but what is quite consistent with the eternal rules of mutual justice and equity.—Would it not rebound more to the honour and glory of your grand monarch to live in amity and friendship with us—than every three or four years to be sacrificing the blood and treasure, the wealth and strength, the real good and benefit of his honest inoffensive subjects?—There is no real foundation, in the nature of things, for any war ever more to subsist between England and France.—All kinds of jealousies may, and ought to be laid aside.—There is sea and landroom enough in the world for both—and it would be conducive to the real good and benefit of

of both—to cultivate a mutual and lasting amity and friendship.—This would be the best and wisest system of policy for both nations.

As you are a Frenchman, I know you must love your native country, as it is natural for all men to do—and, as you have free access to your king, you cannot by any way or method so well testify your sincere regard to your country, as by endeavouring, on all proper occasions, to impress the mind of your king and his ministers with those generous pacific sentiments, as you must know in your own conscience they will greatly conduce to the honour and glory of your king, and to the real happiness and welfare of all his subjects.—I will detain you no longer, and hope you will excuse the length and freedom of this speech, which I most solemnly protest is intended for the good and benefit of your nation as well as my own.

Now my lord, I have quite finished. I told you in the beginning I would not presume to offer you my advice :—I have only hinted to you what method I would pursue, was I in your place.—You are at full liberty to give it what reception you please.

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Should it meet with your approbation—
 I know you are a master of all the arts of
 persuasion, and the methods of address—
 and that you are capable of putting this
 into language more correct, more forcible,
 and significant.—I wish you the
 desired success, that thereby you may promote
 the happiness of your country, and
 acquire to yourself a large share of that
 honour and renown that will attend all
 those who worthily discharge public trust.
 —I remain, with the most profound respect,

My Lord,

London, Oct. 23,
 1760.

Your Lordship's most obedient

and very humble Servant,

AN ENGLISHMAN.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE preceding scribble was completely finished, on the day it bears date—being two days before his late majesty's death; little thinking, at that time, his important life was so near at an end.—When the news first reached me, I was in the country, at a distance from London, and my affairs would not permit me conveniently to return—so was obliged to let the printer go on as it then stood.

I hope, and trust in God, his successor will turn out as honest a man as his grandfather.—That French politician, the archbishop of Cambray, already mentioned in the preceding tract, is certainly in the right, in affirming, that no character is so worthy the pursuit of any prince, as that of an honest man—as thereby he will always secure the love and confidence of his own subjects—as well as appear in a most respectable light to all princes and states around him, and that this system
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of policy will always be found the best, the most durable and permanent.

What is the reason his late majesty obtained the hearts, the affections, and purses of his people, more than any former monarch had ever done?—It was only from a general opinion, prevailing amongst all ranks and degrees of our people, that he was a downright honest man.

I could mention a very great man, in our own country, in the very same sentiment; I mean the late Mr. Pope, a gentleman to whom God, in the course of his providence—(for reasons unknown to us) had given a certain reach and depth of knowledge, and an extent of capacity and understanding superior to most other men. A little before his death, he told some of his friends (and all the world knows his friends were some of the greatest genius's of the age) that he had lately employed himself, with great attention, in drawing the real character of his present majesty, George the Second:—His friends were very solicitous to have a sight of it—but he put them off, under a pretence that it was not quite finished:—They afterwards renewed their request, at different times, but were put off under the same pretence.—At last, they insisted upon a sight of it, with some degree of

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warmth—Pope then went to his closet, and brought down a bit of paper, no longer than his little finger—and told the company it was all comprized in that scrip:—They were astonished, and began to rally him with some severity—saying, they expected a character at full length, drawn at least on a whole sheet of paper, and in a pompous and exalted stile; and surely it could not be contained in that little scrip.—Pope threw it on the table, and there appeared only wrote on it—He is an honest man, and no hypocrite—saying, this I take to be his real character, and it is the most noble and exalted one that any prince can attain to, upon earth; and, in all kingdoms and nations in the world, will in the long-run be found the best, the wisest, and most solid system of policy that can be pursued by any prince.—Pope also said, he compleated it at first on a whole sheet of paper, as they expected, and in a stile lofty and pompous; but, on the second perusal, he did not like it himself, and tore it in pieces—from an opinion, that what he had wrote on that little scrip, was vastly more noble and grand, and the highest character any prince can acquire.—This seems to have been Pope's deliberate opinion, for, at the time he wrote his admirable tract, intituled,
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An Essay on Man, he has some very striking sentiments, to this purpose; in one place he cries out,

A wit's a feather, and a chief a rod;
An honest man's the noblest work of God.

I hope our future historians will do justice to the character of this honest prince, George the Second.

He provided for the lasting security of his country against all foreign invasions, thereby to perpetuate the blessings of liberty and independency to a people brave and free,

In his reign, a freedom of thought, a liberty of speech and the press, which is founded in the very essence of our constitution, prevailed even to the most extensive degree, and thereby greatly contributed to that peace and harmony amongst ourselves, which alone can preserve and perpetuate the duration of our happy constitution.

He never once attempted any thing in prejudice of our known and established laws—nor never made the least incroachment on our rights and liberties—for it is always to be considered, that in England we do not owe our liberty to the conces-

sions of our kings—here the people are born free, that is, they are naturally and inherently free.

They are governed it is true, and to which they willingly and chearfully submit—because they are governed by laws founded on the eternal principle of mutual justice, all admirably calculated and adapted to the good and safety of the whole community.

Formerly we had kings who had a notion in their heads, that millions, yea many millions of people, were born into the world, merely for their own sole use and pleasure—but, of all the wild and extravagant opinions that ever entered into the heads or hearts of men, this is certainly most absurd, impious, and detestable.

Our late most gracious sovereign well and judiciously knew, that the sole end and design of all government is the real good and happiness of the whole community.

He looked on his subjects under the amiable and endearing character of his children, and himself as their father and protector.

May the great and eternal God, by whom all kings reign, and princes decree judgment—inspire the hearts and heads of his

his present, and all future successors; that they may steadily adhere to the same honest principle, and thereby add to the firmness and stability of the crown and dignity of these realms, in their family, as long as sun and moon endure.

E I N I S



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same author.

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